

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 085775

HELSINKI USDEL MPT

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OCON

SUBJECT: BRANDT VISIT -- CSCE DISCUSSION AT SECRETARY'S
LUNCH FOR SCHEEL

1. AT THE SECRETARY'S LUNCH FOR FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL
ON MAY 1 AMBASSADOR BRUNNER, AT SCHEEL'S REQUEST,
SUMMARIZED GERMAN CONCERN ON THE ISSUE OF INVIOABILITY
OF BORDERS. BRUNNER FIRST COMMENTED ON THE EXCELLENT
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FRG AND US DELEGATIONS IN
HELSINKI. HE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED THAT THE
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CSCE TALKS WERE SECONDARY IN INTEREST TO THE MBFR DISCUSSIONS IN VIENNA. THE GERMAN SIDE WAS CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THAT FROM BREZHNEV'S POINT OF VIEW CSCE WAS OF MAJOR CONCERN. THE FRG ALSO CONSIDERED CSCE OF MUCH IMPORTANCE.

2. THE GERMAN HOPE, BRUNNER SAID, WAS THAT BY TAKING THE EXISTING SITUATION IN EUROPE AS A STARTING POINT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE AS A RESULT OF A SECURITY CONFERENCE TO ESTABLISH A REAL DETENTE IN EUROPE INCLUDING INCREASED AND MORE EFFECTIVE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. IF THIS GOAL WERE NOT ACHIEVED (AND BY IMPLICATION IF ONE DID NOT DEVOTE ENOUGH ATTENTION TO CSCE) THE SOLE RESULT OF THE CONFERENCE MIGHT WELL BE

AN INCREASE IN SOVIET INFLUENCE IN WESTERN EUROPE.

3. BRUNNER NOTED THAT THE PREPARATORY TALKS HAD BEEN MOVING ALONG QUITE WELL ON THE WHOLE. HOWEVER, IT WAS CLEAR THAT FOR THE SOVIETS THE TWO OBJECTIVES WERE TO BRING ABOUT AN AUTHORITATIVE RECOGNITION OF THE PRESENT FRONTIERS IN EUROPE AND TO ESTABLISH A PERMANENT ORGAN WITH SOME KIND OF SUPERVISORY FUNCTIONS WHICH WOULD GIVE THE USSR A DEGREE OF CONTROL IN WESTERN EUROPE. WHILE THE FRG WANTED TO " START FROM REALITIES" IT CONSIDERED IT ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO LINK THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF TERRITORIAL BORDERS DIRECTLY WITH THAT OF THE NON- USE OF FORCE.

4. BRUNNER CONTENDED THAT ON THE SURFACE IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MOVED IN THE HELSINKI TALKS TOWARD THE WESTERN POSITION. THEY HAD ACCEPTED HUMAN CONTACTS AT LEAST AS AN ITEM FOR DISCUSSION AND THEY HAD BEEN SHOWN QUITE CLEARLY THAT THE WESTERN SIDE WAS NOT PREPARED TO RUSH INTO A CONFERENCE. THE ULTIMATE TACTICS OF THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, WERE NOT YET CLEAR.

5. BRUNNER ARGUED THAT IF THE SOVIETS WERE ABLE TO INSERT A GRAY ZONE BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES OF NON- USE OF FORCE AND THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS THE RESULT WOULD BE A TERRITORIAL FREEZE IN EUROPE ENJOYING INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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RECOGNITION. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT IF A UNITED WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD REACH THE POINT OF ELIMINATING BORDERS IT COULD DO SO, IF AT ALL, ONLY WITH PERMISSION OF THE USSR. THE SOVIETS WOULD BE IN A POSITION OF CONTROL. SIMILARLY, IN THE SPECIFIC CASE OF GERMANY, AN ELIMINATION OF THE BORDER BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR THROUGH A PEACEFUL DECISION OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE WOULD BE PRECLUDED.

6. MINISTER EGON BAHR ADDED THAT UNQUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS COULD INVALIDATE THE RIGHTS OF THE FOUR POWERS WHICH APPLY TO GERMANY AS A WHOLE INCLUDING ITS BORDERS. ASSISTANT SECRETARY VAN WELL ADDED THAT THE SOVIETS FREQUENTLY REMARK THAT EACH AREA OF THE WORLD IS CHARACTERIZED BY ITS SPECIFIC PROBLEMS. IN THE CASE OF EUROPE THEY SEE THE PROBLEM AS THAT OF FRONTIERS.

7. MINISTER SCHEEL EXPRESSED TO THE SECRETARY THE HOPE THAT THE US WOULD JOIN WITH THE FRG IN MAKING THE POINT TO THE USSR ON THE NECESSITY TO LINK THE INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS SEQUENTIALLY WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF NON- USE OF FORCE. HE NOTED THAT IN THE US/ SOVIET COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN MOSCOW THE SEQUENCE HAD NOT BEEN MAINTAINED BUT THAT THE GERMANS HAD BEEN ABLE TO DO SO IN THEIR MOSCOW TREATY AND THEY DID NOT WISH TO SEE THIS ACHIEVEMENT PREJUDICED IN CSCE.

8. THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE GERMAN POINT OF VIEW AND SAID HE THOUGHT THAT A FORMULATION SHOULD BE FOUND WHICH WOULD MAKE PERFECTLY CLEAR IN ANY DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WHAT THE WESTERN SIDE MEANT. BRUNNER AGREED, NOTING THAT IT WAS NOT THE INTENTION TO ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLE OF THE IMMUTABILITY OF FRONTIERS. THE SECRETARY STATED THAT WHAT WE REALLY MEAN IS THAT FORCE SHOULD NOT BE USED TO CHANGE BOUNDARIES. WE SHOULD NOT ACCEPT TERMINOLOGY WHICH WAS LESS THAN CLEAR AND COULD LEAD TO ARGUMENTS IN THE FUTURE.

9. BRUNNER SAID THAT THE SECOND SOVIET OBJECTIVE IS TO ACHIEVE A PERMANENT ORGAN WHICH WOULD DEVELOP A NEW INSTITUTIONALIZED LAW FOR EUROPE, DIFFERENTIATED FROM
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REGULAR INTERNATIONAL LAW. THIS, TOO, COULD GIVE THE SOVIETS A MEANS OF INTERVENTION IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE FRG WAS CONVINCED THAT IF ANY PERMANENT BODY WAS TO BE ESTABLISHED IT SHOULD NOT BE LOCATED IN HELSINKI AND SHOULD MEET ONLY ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS. HEADS OF DELEGATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD GET TOGETHER OCCASIONALLY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS, PERHAPS IN ALTERNATING CAPITALS. ANYTHING BEYOND THAT WOULD PROVIDE THE SOVIETS A MEANS OF CONTROL. THE SECRETARY SAID THE UNITED STATES WAS AGAINST THE CONCEPT OF A PERMANENT ORGAN. SCHEEL AGREED. HE THOUGHT THAT ANY TASKS WHICH MIGHT ARISE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS. THE SECRETARY RECALLED THAT IT WAS ORIGINALLY THE BRITISH WHO HAD PUT FORWARD THE IDEA OF SOME PERMANENT BODY BUT WE HAVE BEEN OPPOSED

TO THE CONCEPT. SCHEEL AGAIN EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT
THE UNITED STATES WOULD MAKE ITS POSITION ON THIS CLEAR
TO THE SOVIETS. HE ALSO NOTED THAT IF ANY AGREEMENTS
REACHED ON THE FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS IN
THE CSCE CONTEXT WERE TO BE SUCCESSFUL THERE WOULD HAVE TO
BE FULL US PARTICIPATION. ROGERS

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